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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 425

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'AAP' REPORTS AFGHAN GUERRILLAS BLOCK HIGHWAY

OW082110 Beijing XINHUA in English 1850 GMT 8 May 83

[Text] Islamabad, May 8 (XINHUA)--The Kabul-Jalalabad Highway has been blocked for six days by Afghan guerrillas with rocks they dynamited down from Maifer mountain, east of the capital, AAP reported today.

Vehicular traffic has been totally suspended and the road is yet to be cleared.

Guerrillas launched attacks April 27 on two military posts around Khowst Cantonment of Paktia Province and destroyed one of the posts. They also captured the Qila Bari military post in the province on the same day. Thirty-six Karmal soldiers were killed and 17 others, including five officers, were captured during the operation. On April 22, the guerrillas intercepted a Soviet-Karmal force moving from Khowst to Yaqubi, killing three soldiers and damaging one military vehicle.

AAP also reported that the guerrillas launched an attack on Qandahar airport with rocket launchers on April 23, inflicting heavy losses on the Soviet-Karmal troops. Two enemy soldiers joined the Mujahidin during the fighting.

The guerrillas in Wardak Province attacked a Soviet-Karmal squad proceeding from Kabul to Ghazni, killing ten enemy soldiers and destroying two tanks.

CSO: 4000/121

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'AAP' NOTES USSR-DRA REGIME'S DECEPTIVE LEAFLETS

OW062118 Beijing XINHUA in English 1920 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Islamabad, May 6 (XINHUA)--The Soviet forces and the Karmal regime have falsified results of the Geneva indirect talks in a bid to lure the Afghan refugees back into the country, AAP reported today.

In the past few days Soviet helicopters have dropped leaflets claiming that "all the matters" relating to the Afghan issue have been "settled" and calling on the resistance forces to lay down their arms.

The leaflets, spread over 14 provinces including Herat, Farad Helmand, Zabul, Kunar and Balkh, said that decisions have been made to allow the refugees back to their homes and get their lost lands.

In order to seek ways of sending back the 4.5 million Afghan refugees now in Pakistan and Iran, Pakistan and the Kabul regime held indirect talks in Geneva last month under the auspices of the United Nations.

However, the Geneva talks produced no results just as the first round of talks held last June.

The air-dropped leaflets also claimed that cease-fire was effected in some places of the country pending for a peaceful solution of the Afghan issue.

No Mojahedin fighters are reported to have surrendered their arms so far.

CSO: 4000/121

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR, MPR CELEBRATE 165TH BIRTHDAY OF KARL MARX

OW061034 Beijing XINHUA in English 0758 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Beijing, May 6 (XINHUA)--Various kinds of activities were held yesterday in the German Democratic Republic and Mongolia to mark the 165th birthday of Karl Marx, according to reports reaching here.

Over 10,000 people in Karl-Marx-Stadt rallied in front of the monument to Marx at the center of the city to mark the occasion and the 30th anniversary of naming the city of Chemnitz as Karl-Marx-Stadt.

A two-day seminar, under the title of "Marxism-Leninism, the correct guide to revolutionary actions of our time," was held in the Leipzig Karl Marx University to mark the birthday of Marx and the 30th anniversary of the naming of the university.

Ceremonies unveiling monuments to Marx were held yesterday in Magdeburg and Ilmenau, each with thousands of attendants.

According to a report from Ulaan Baatar, representatives from the Mongolian party, government, mass organizations and the working people of the capital city held a mass meeting yesterday to mark the 165th birthday of Karl Marx and the centenary of his death.

Before this, a photo exhibition on the life of Marx was organized and a TV series "Karl Marx's Youth" were shown.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'AAP' CITES ZIAUL HAQ ON USSR DRA PULLOUT

OW082052 Beijing XINHUA in English 1601 GMT 8 May 83

[Text] Islamabad, May 8 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Ziaul Haq said in Karachi today that all foreign reports about the pullout of Soviet forces from Afghanistan or from the areas bordering on Pakistan are merely "propaganda," according to an AAP report today.

The president told reporters at Karachi airport that "Pakistan is not under any false impression about the solution of the Afghan issue."

He said that the press reports about the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan in September or October this year or their withdrawal from the areas bordering on Pakistan "are all unconfirmed and unauthenticated."

Warning the Pakistani media against being misled by such reports, the president counselled the home press to concentrate more on Pakistan's standpoint on the Afghan issue. "Our stand," he said, "should be directed towards a political solution of the Afghan issue."

The president, however, expressed the hope that "the Soviet Union would help find out a political solution to the Afghan issue on the basis of which Soviet troops would be withdrawn from the Afghan soil and the Afghan refugees would return to their homeland honorably."

Asked to comment on the reported offer of Afghan Foreign Minister Shah Mohammad Dost for direct talks with Pakistan on the Afghan issue, the president said that such reports are "neither confirmed nor did Pakistan feel any need to seek their confirmation."

He said Pakistan is a member of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), which he said expects none of its members to have any direct contact with the Soviet-backed Kabul rulers. Pakistan, he stressed, is bound by the decision of the OIC on the Afghan issue.

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INTE NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

IRANIAN COMMENTARY, 'RUSSIAN SPIES'--Tehran, 5 May (XINHUA)--"We hope that Moscow never thinks again that Tehran could be mistaken as Kabul. We believe in good neighborliness and we see that seriousness is a must in dealing with a superpower which intends to interfere in our affairs whether through the CIA or the KGB," said the Iranian paper KEYHAN in an editorial today. The newspaper was commenting on the dissolution of Iran's Tudeh Party and the expulsion of 18 Soviet diplomats yesterday. "How can the Islamic Republic accept that Russian spies exist in Iran? They have come and confessed on live TV broadcasts their links with the KGB, how can Tehran remain indifferent? To demonstrate our determination in rejecting any Soviet intervention in our country and to prove to the world that even at war, even boycotted by the criminal U.S., we value our independence and territorial integrity," it added. [Text] [OW061058 Beijing XINHUA in English 0809 GMT 5 May 83]

TUDEH PARTY MEMBERS ARRESTED--Tehran, 10 May (XINHUA)--More than 1,000 Tudeh Party members of the first and second ranks have been arrested since February, said commander of the Revolutionary Guards Mohsen Reza'i today. He told a press conference here that a number of the party members who held positions in the government have now been arrested or dismissed. He said most of the 10,000 members of the party have obeyed the order to report to the centers of the revolutionary guards after the Tudeh Party was dissolved on the charge of spying for the Soviet Union. He denied rumors about torture and execution of Tudeh Party leaders who had confessed to be Soviet spies on the television early this month. [Text] [OW110404 Beijing XINHUA in English 0250 GMT 11 May 83]

CSO: 4000/121

## PARTY AND STATE

### ROLE OF UNIVERSITY JOURNALS IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION DISCUSSED

Shanghai HUA DONG SHIFAN DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF EAST CHINA NORMAL UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)] in Chinese No 1, 28 Feb 83 pp 25-28

[Article by Zhang Xuexin [4545 1331 2450]: "University Journals Should Contribute to Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] There are a total of more than 170 philosophy and social sciences editions of university journals published by various institutions of higher learning at present which constitute a very important stronghold on the theoretical front in our country. To do a good job in publishing university journals does not mean that it can only play a promoting role in academic development in colleges and universities, but more important is that it can make more contributions to strengthening the theoretical ranks of Marxism and building a socialist spiritual civilization.

University journals must regard building socialist civilization as their own duty.

The 12th CPC National Congress has once again solemnly put forward that while we are building a high level material civilization, we must at the same time make great efforts to build a high level spiritual civilization so that more and more members in our society can become laborers who have lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline. This is a question of strategic policy which as a bearing on the rise and fall of the cause of socialism and is one of the historical tasks we must pay close attention to over a long period of time to come.

Since entering into the civilized age, mankind has experienced three historical stages of slavery, feudalism and capitalism respectively and created different kinds of spiritual civilization adapted to the economic systems of each of these stages. Following the birth of Marxism, mankind has entered into a new historical stage along with the development of the communist movement. This is a completely new historical stage which takes the public ownership system as its basic feature and regards eliminating class oppression as well as class confrontation as its clear-cut stand. Of course, spiritual civilization which adapts to this kind of economic system and social relations must also be entirely new. However, this new

kind of spiritual civilization does not fall from the sky, but it is under the guidance of the communist ideology that we, on the one hand, sum up historical experience by selecting the essence and discarding the dross and, on the other hand, unceasingly create and develop in the light of our actual life. Since the proletariat has seized and consolidated state power, the basic task that lies ahead of us is to rule the whole country and supervise the whole society, to propel society to move forward in order to march toward the goal of communism step by step from various aspects including political power consolidation and economic, ideological, social as well as cultural construction. Compared with the task of seizing political power, it is undoubtedly more extensive and complex. In making administrative decisions, it is necessary to utilize knowledge having law as its basis including such branches of learning as natural and social sciences which have been accumulated by our predecessors. Therefore, under the guidance of Marxism, developing various subjects of social sciences and further developing new courses of social science become the objective requirements in building a socialist spiritual civilization. The proletariat must not only eventually achieve labor productivity which is higher than that of the capitalist, but they must also shape a high level socialist civilization with communist ideology as its core and bring up a new generation that will struggle for the cause of communism.

In the course of building a high level socialist spiritual civilization, the tasks of both theoretical and educational workers are exceptionally arduous and they are particularly important. As Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Political-ideological workers, workers in various cultural and scientific fields, educational workers in schools at various levels and of different categories of schools from kindergartens to graduate schools shoulder responsibilities which are particularly important in building a socialist spiritual civilization." University journals such as academic theoretical publications should naturally devote themselves to the implementation of this strategic task. They must shoulder the responsibility of conducting propaganda and education, and take up the task of promoting scientific research. Not only must they make theoretical exposition and proof of the party's correct principles, policies and various important tasks, they must also promote individual subjects of social sciences and, under the guidance of Marxism, integrate themselves with practice to study new situations and questions so as to look for laws therefrom and to raise them to the level of theory in order to provide a scientific basis for promoting further development of production and various kinds of work. This is a historical task that lies ahead of theoretical as well as university journal workers.

There are several questions which university journals must conscientiously study in promoting the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization.

First, we must conscientiously study the basic theories and make efforts to integrate ourselves with practice. In the first place, we must study the fundamental tenet of Marxism which is the theoretical basis guiding our ideology. This year marks the centennial anniversary of the death of Marx. Over the past 100 years, an earth-shaking change has taken place in this

world. The communist movement has gained tremendous development in practice in this world, especially in China. Summations and condensations are required in furnishing theoretical answers to a great deal of practical experience. Practical life has continued to develop. We must first adhere to the fundamental tenet of Marxism and sum up experience of practice of the masses from a variety of historical phenomena so as to continuously enrich the theoretical treasure-house of Marxism. Marxism is a guide, but it can only contain and not replace each individual course of social sciences. Each course itself has its own basic theory which we must study. Yet, without a guide there will be no common language, and ideology will easily be confused.

Engels pointed out in his "Speech in Front of the Tomb of Marx" that "every new discovery in any course of theoretical sciences can make Marx feel extremely happy even if its actual application still cannot be predicted. However, once a discovery which can produce immediate revolutionary impact on the development of industry and of history in general has been obtained, his joy would be entirely different." Engels explicitly pointed out here that science is a revolutionary force to promote production and propel the development of history; some of the new discoveries in theoretical sciences may immediately have a revolutionary impact on current production and life, and for some, it may temporarily "not be possible to predict" their value in application. In the field of natural sciences, we often use basic science, applied science as well as development and research to express and narrate. In the social sciences we ought to do it the same way. New discoveries in every aspect can all sharpen people's ability to understand society and history. These new discoveries are the expression of progress of human civilization which make people happy. It is not reasonable to praise someone and censure others. For instance, when our party was shifting the focus of our work to economic construction, Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] pointed out that the ancient books should be put in order because it is a matter which affects future generations and can carry forward our splendid national culture, both being of equal strategic significance. In a certain period of time, when we made comments on university journals, we often said: "Too many subjects concern the ancient," or too many subjects concern "verification." Using this as a criterion in an isolated way makes it hard to intrinsically explain the problem and the key lies in the editors' ideology. If the point of departure is to avoid mentioning real problems, it is of course not right to seek "political insurance" from the "ancient" and "verification." If this type of incorrect guiding ideology is eliminated, then any new discovery in theoretical sciences will become accumulated experience in building spiritual civilization which is valuable in improving our understanding. When talking about the argument of the so-called "returning to the school of thought of Qian-Long and Jia-Qin Dynasties," a particular historian said that although the meticulous skill of textual research in the Qian-Long and Jia-Qin school of thought has its good points, scholars in our socialist era must not be limited to this kind of skill only and should further develop themselves. This is the reason why the statement "returning to the school of thought of Qian-Long and Jia-Qin Dynasties" does not seem to be appropriate. Speaking from the angle of scientific development, it is not advisable to simply appraise academic value in

accordance with the time limit in the study of a question. This is one aspect of the issue. The more important aspect is precisely what Engels further pointed out: what fills Marx with "joyfulness" which is "entirely different" is the "discovery that has an immediate impact on the development of industry and history in general." It is obvious that Marx paid special attention to the study of problems, to application, to propelling production and to the development of history directly through the development of science. Marx was not merely a "great master of science," but also "first a revolutionary." His mission his whole life was to participate in the cause of proletarian liberation. Scientific workers in the socialist era must look upon Marx as a model. They are not only scientists, but also revolutionaries, and revolutionaries first. They must not only have the foresight of a scientist, but also that of a revolutionary. And they must integrate these two standards. Comrade editors of university journals must be imbued with such comprehensive foresight when they examine and select manuscripts. With such foresight, it appears that comrades were biased when, in the past, they maintained that university journals must stress such things as "expired rate of utilization" and "not striving for academic success has its merits but there is no cause for striving for political success." The 12th CPC National Congress pointed out that our overall mission is to unite the people of all nationalities throughout the country to strive for self-reliance, to struggle arduously and to gradually implement the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology in order to build our country into a socialist country with a high level of civilization and democracy. In the course of this effort, there are a vast number of theoretical and realistic questions which we must study. We must emancipate our mind so that we can become bold enough to study new questions with immense enthusiasm and to promote production and history to develop further new discoveries in the scientific field. This is the fundamental task of our social science workers.

Second, we must uphold the four fundamental principles and launch academic contention.

Each publication has its own specific principles and readers. However, publications, whatever they are, must all make efforts to build a socialist spiritual civilization and uphold the four fundamental principles. And they must maintain political unanimity with the Party Central Committee. This is general character. General character is directed at specific character. The specific character of a publication is determined by its own specific principles and prospective readers. Without a general character, it will deviate from our political direction and contaminate our spiritual civilization. Likewise, if individual character is obliterated, there will be no specific features of publications nor a hundred flowers blossoming. Social sciences editions of university journals in colleges and universities are theoretical publications and have the goal of deepening understanding. Their principal targets are teachers and students in colleges and universities as well as social sciences research workers. They are tools for pushing forward academic construction in colleges and universities. Based on this specific feature, the following questions are bound to emerge in their work:



The first is that the standing and the role of a university journal is different from a popular newspaper engaged in political propaganda. A university journal is also different from party newspapers and publications in its specific mission. Party newspapers and publications are propaganda organs of the party which serve as tools for party organizations to openly guide our work by the written word. University journals cannot represent party organizations to issue orders, nor can they directly guide our current work. What they do is to probe laws in various aspects of our social life. Articles published in university journals are required to be in depth theoretically and scientifically rigorous. When the "gang of four" ran wild, they forcefully ordered university journals to become the mass media for realizing their "overall dictatorship." They distorted the direction of university journals and abolished the characteristic of academic theory. This in actuality was the abolishment of the university journals. In the course of building a socialist spiritual civilization, the basic goals of both university journals and publications for political propaganda should be identical, but measures and methods adopted to carry out their actual missions may be different. In order to carry out their basic mission, university journals should spare no effort to play their part in our struggle from the angle of academic theory. It is not advisable to lean toward the general practice to just "follow" or "coordinate." There are a vast number of questions in our real life. Theoretical workers must march at the head of our life, or at least be parallel to it. What a pity we are unable to do so at present. We are still unable to adapt, but we must make efforts to do so. If we do not conscientiously investigate and research, nor make a thorough scientific analysis, but merely make a general deduction by quoting a few paragraphs from newspapers or documents of the Party Central Committee in order to fulfill a mission to "follow closely" and "coordinate," it will lack depth both theoretically and academically. Articles like this are poor in quality.

The second is that we must promote scientific exploration. Exploration is the life of scientific development. The development of natural sciences depends on observation, comparison and experiment. The development of social sciences has to start with earnest investigation of society and analysis of history. Positive and negative experience must be summed up and be raised to the level of theory, and then be tested and verified through practice by the masses. It is in this way that theory circulates endlessly and makes unceasing progress. For this it is necessary to proceed from reality, to emancipate our minds, to seek truth from facts, and to launch contention. In carrying out exploration, it is of course hard to avoid giving rise to questions of one kind or another. For this reason, the leading comrades of the Party Central Committee said that on the theoretical front, it is hard to avoid shortcomings and errors. Especially in the course of probing new questions, deviations and errors are unavoidable. As long as the basic direction is correct, we should be able to solve these questions by way of discussion, contention, deliberation and criticism and self-criticism. This is the normal path to the development of social sciences. Earnest scientific workers must deem this course the means for promoting the development of theoretical sciences. The functions of scientific research, classroom teaching and public propaganda are different, and demarcation lines

in politics also have their differences. There should be no forbidden zone in probing scientific research. In classroom teaching, we must pass correct knowledge on to students. In conducting propaganda, we must stress discipline. We must coordinate both political consistency from the Party Central Committee down and the "double hundred" principle adopted in scientific research work in order to correctly handle relations between the two. It will be disadvantageous to academic development if there is neither discussion nor contention, or if we lack initiative and are overcautious. At present, our party and our country think highly of social sciences and entertain high hopes. Good suggestions will receive conscientious consideration. Since liberation, such a situation has never been seen before. The problem is that we cannot find many suggestions and plans with new ideas and analysis which can solve problems. We must exert ourselves in this respect.

Third, we must uphold the stand of Marxism and expand the scope of research. Any kind of theory, doctrine, or even the culture of a nation is bound to develop from its own intrinsic basis and to continuously absorb what is fresh and useful from other sources. We then have to appraise and select in actual practice in order to mix useful ingredients with our own to enable us to make progress. Development itself is not isolated or confined. There are three sources and three organizational compositions that shape up Marxism and it is certain that its development can only be enriched in the light of experience in practice and through persistent accumulation, comparison, assimilation and selection. For the very purpose of making progress, not only must we study and sum up the experience in the development of Marxism itself, but we must also pay attention to the ideological trends in various societies and bourgeois doctrines concerning society and we must analyze the social basis of their existence and development. If we are ignorant and ill-informed or out of touch with reality, or if we know only ourselves without knowing others, it will be out of the question to talk about probing new theories. During the long historical period from the Zhou and Qin Dynasties down to the Opium War, the nature of the feudal society in China remained unchanged. After the Opium War, the advanced thought of the Western world entered the country. Especially at the time around the "May 4th Movement," Marxism was disseminated in China and China was then able to find the socialist road. This is history. At present, we are unflinchingly carrying out an open door policy. As we are learning foreign advanced science and technology, we must also study their politics, social theory and management techniques, and make comparisons and distinctions. The question lies in the fact that we must remain sober-minded, uphold the stand of Marxism and resist the corrosion of foreign decadent ideology. The bourgeois lifestyle absolutely cannot be allowed to spread unchecked in our country. Yet if we want to resist these things, we must study them, because only if we know both ourselves and our opponents, can we be ever-victorious.

In brief, for the purpose of building a socialist spiritual civilization, we have to go on persisting, probing, comparing and resisting.

We must strengthen our efforts in building a contingent of editors and heighten our sense of political responsibility.

Along with the development of scientific research work carried out in institutions of higher learning, periodicals on social sciences have grown rapidly and this has reflected a booming scene of the academic circles in our country since the "gang of four" was smashed. However, owing to the rapid development of our work, both our experience in leadership and the strength of editors appear to be unadaptable. In order to bring into play the fighting role of present university journals and publications in socialist spiritual civilization construction, the work of the editorial department must conscientiously be consolidated. Consolidation is a positive measure which is for the purpose of further clarifying the principle and mission of publishing a publication, reinforcing our strength, and strengthening our efforts in building a contingent of editors so that they can do a still better job in publishing university journals and publications.

A university journal of a college or university reflects its scientific research direction and academic level. It produces considerable impact both at home and abroad. The sponsoring college or university has the responsibility to strengthen its leadership in order to concentrate its efforts to publish a good university journal. The party guides university journals mainly by clarifying the party's principles, keeping abreast of the party's policy, strengthening editorial organizations, and ensuring political soundness. Members of the editorial departments of university journals must be organized. They must hold themselves responsible to the cause of the party and to their own publications. They must clearly understand their own political responsibility, strengthen their sense of organization and discipline, and conscientiously enable this stronghold to play a greater role on the academic front of theory. It is absolutely not permissible to violate the propaganda discipline of the party, to impede or even damage the construction of socialist spiritual civilization.

Under the guidance of the correct policy, the subjective activity of the editorial department is the crux of publishing a good university journal. Some comrades felt that the university journal is the place to reflect the achievements in scientific research in schools. "The boat goes high when the river rises." Of course it would be like castles in the air to demand quality improvement from a university journal if it departs from the school's scientific research basis. However, it is absolutely not advisable to interpret that the editorial department is incapable of improving its quality. Yet, it also should not just sit and wait, and send whatever manuscripts it receives to the press. This is to practice the "doctrine of taking in" and keep editorial work at the "proofreader's" level. The editorial department is the organizer and first examiner in publishing academic achievements. These workers are organized activists on the academic front. This is why they must make an effort to learn Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in order to thoroughly comprehend the strategic mission of the party in a certain historical period, understand the ideological trends in real life, and the present status and development tendencies of various courses within and outside schools so that we can pick out subjects on important theoretical issues to write articles on, organize scholars to probe, and carry out lively theoretical discussions and academic debates. In recent years, editorial departments of some university journals have intentionally



promoted the study of realistic problems and organized conversations by writing as well as conducting academic debates. Some university journals have combined their editorial plans with academic research plans of teachers of their own schools. All these merit encouragement. We must bring the subjective activity of the editorial department into full play and gather the "water resources" of academic research to raise the "water level" to the best of our ability, and thereby elevate the academic "boat level" in our schools.

Editors are "unknown heroes." They "prepare wedding clothing for others." In the course of building a spiritual civilization, the labor of this group of our comrades is indispensable. The achievements of academic research can be revealed to society only through their extensive organization and arduous writing. Their labor is a part of the labor engaged in scientific research which should be esteemed. Care also must be given to their immediate interests including advanced study and evaluation of their job titles. The spirit of "preparing wedding clothing for others" reflects the lofty realm of "I am for everybody" which is one of the manifestations of communism. The 12th CPC National Congress has pointed out: "Every citizen must observe the duties of being a citizen, as well as social and job ethics. Every laborer has to be a builder of socialist spiritual civilization." "Happy to be" unknown heroes and "willing" to prepare wedding clothes for others should be the work ethic of editors. Editors who are engaged in building socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core must themselves possess communist spiritual ideals. This is the most important point in building a contingent of editors.

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(S0: 4005/69)

## PARTY AND STATE

### DIFFICULTIES, RECOMMENDED PRACTICES IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK DISCUSSED

Harbin XUE LILUN /THEORETICAL STUDY/ in Chinese No 2, 1 Feb 83 p 40

/Article by Wang Qinghai /3769 8095 3189/: "Thoughts on Ideological and Political Work"/

/Text/ Ideological and political work, one must be bold in forging ahead even though one know the way is difficult.

The ideological and political work of some units are lacking in initiative, creativity, and relevance. With report writing that is copied indiscriminately from others, and talking that is not connected with reality, their ideological and political work is not forceful enough. However, whenever cadre comrades get together to chatter about the matter some have reason to say that ideological political work has "four difficulties." The first is that ideology is complex, and the rank and file are difficult to lead. The second is that human affairs are complicated, and that it is difficult to maintain relationships with people. The third is that an isolated pillar is hard to support, and incorrect party practices are hard to stand up to. The fourth is that our policies are new, and difficult to master. For this reason, it is not easy to tie in with reality, and once can only speak in accordance with what the higher echelons expect, and make a rough attempt to do the job. Therefore, they do not study our policies conscientiously, investigate, research, or actively and boldly solve problems but, content with mere form, mechanically complete their ideological and political work tasks. This kind of ideological and political work tends to get things bungled up, and must be discarded. A certain unit has a comparatively high proportion of young people, and some of them sing decadent songs. This unit's party and Youth Group organizations do not then abandon ideological work, but actively study how to solve this problem. They adroitly guide their action according to the circumstances and, aiming directly at the particular issue of their young people liking to sing these songs, organize a music appreciation group, and advocate the signing of healthy, progressive, revolutionary songs, with the result that they turn around this practice of singing decadent songs and head it in a different direction. The problems are unavoidable, and engaging in ideological political work with one's eyes closed is not the way to accomplish anything. Only by knowing the difficulties and forging ahead anyway, and using one's brains a lot, can the problems be readily solved.

### Ideological Political Work Must be Able to Mobilize People

A certain shop had a young employee who had quite a bit of organizational ability. In school and in the army he had done quite well. After he became involved in commercial work, he found that other people had different ways of looking at him. He then felt himself even more to "have talent that was not properly rewarded," and therefore frequently drank, became undisciplined and disorganized, and was quite depressed. He was very good at expressing himself on various occasions, had quite a lot of organizational talent, and served as "master of ceremonies" for other people, gaining quite a reputation for it both near and far. In a 1-year period he served as master of ceremonies 194 times. He became very busy with this function, sometimes performing it several times in 1 day, and enjoyed himself immensely. After the new Secretary of this unit took up his position, he discovered this young person's talent, understood the fact that the youth had the intention of offering his services, and considered that he had high aspirations. The party branch sought out this young person and had a heart-to-heart talk with him, and following a period of investigation arranged for him to take up a position as manager of a retail sales department. After this young person had the burden of work on his shoulders, he gave up drinking, and applied all of his attention and talents to the job. Through his and everyone else's strenuous efforts, the retail sales department led by him went through a great transformation, losses were changed into profits, and the situation continued to get better and better. From this example it can be seen that our ideological political work should take initiative in mobilizing people's talents as its basic point of departure, thus causing people to work to the best of their ability to bring about a flourishing development for their enterprise.

### Ideological Political Work Must Uphold Correct Procedures and Consolidate Capital in the Economic Arena

Some people consider that for problems in the realm of ideology one can rely upon ideological political work, while for problems in the economic arena one can only rely upon economic methods, systems, and contracts, and it is not necessary to have any ideological political work. In the wake of the launching of the work of purchasing things from other cities, many shops have sent out purchasing agents. However, these agents have not taken very much interest in doing any ideological work in connection with their purchasing, thinking that if they rely upon contracts to take care of things, are able to grab up goods, and are able to make money, it will be all right. This is not the case for one grocery store in Harbin Municipality. They stress ideological political work in the economic arena. When their purchasing agents are sent out, they have to put together their ideas and study them with the others, and when they are given tasks, they are also given policies to follow. When they return, they also analyze them together, and sum up their experience and lessons learned. Once, at the Jinan Trade Fair, some enterprises, with the aim of attracting this grocery store's purchasing agent to buy goods, adopted the method of adding bicycles to the items for sale. At the time, bicycles were in short supply in the Harbin market, and the shop's purchasing agent actively placed an order, thinking that when the bicycles were sent back they would definitely be able to do a good business with them. He thought that he would

be praised for what he did. However, the shop's party branch considered that this was in violation of the enterprise's management direction, and that no matter how cheap the bicycles were, it should not be done. Moreover, they made an example of this affair, launched a discussion among the purchasing agents and the staff and workers, and engaged in ideological education, causing everyone to become clear on the point that they must maintain the enterprise's socialist management direction. Precisely because they have done things in this way, this shop, in its management activities, has achieved a condition of being lively but not confused; its patch of development is correct, and its capital is secure. This effect of ideological and political work of causing correct management practices to be upheld and capital to be consolidated cannot be substituted by economic practices.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### TERMINOLOGY OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS CLASSIFICATION ELUCIDATED

Harbin XUE LILUN /THEORETICAL STUDY/ in Chinese No 2, 1 Feb 83 pp 24-25, 17

/Article by Yan Jiaqi /0717 1367 0366/: "The Meaning and Classification of the Concept of 'Political Systems'"/

/Text/ (Editor's note: Political science is the science that investigates the particular social phenomenon of politics; it has a distinct class nature and a long history. In order to enable the broad masses of readers to understand this aspect of knowledge, this periodical, beginning with this issue, is inaugurating a special column, "Basic Knowledge of Political Science," for which we have especially invited relevant comrades of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to write articles.)

The concept of "political system" is part of the general concept of "form of state." The term "form of state" has both a narrow meaning and a broad meaning. The narrow meaning of "form of state" indicates "form of organization of the political power of a state," that is, what we usually refer to as a "political system." The broad meaning of the "form of state" concept also includes the ideas of "form of organizational structure of a state" and "form of administration of a state." The "form of organizational system of a state" refers to the form of the mutual relationships between the whole of a state and its parts and between the central organization and local organizations. The "form of administration of a state," then, refers to the methods by which the ruling class implements its rule and manages things.

In the English language, "political system" means "form of government." However, due to differences in the usage of the concept "government," people tend to include the relationship between the central and local authorities, in particular, the "forms of mutual relationship between the central government and the local governments" within the category of "form of government." In the various countries of Europe and America, the concept of "government" has many meanings, and "government" can mean "the organs of administration of a state;" it can refer to the "cabinet," that is, the core portion of a state's administrative organs; and it can also refer generally to all organs, including the state's administrative organs, through which the authority of the state is exercised. Under certain conditions, the concept of "government" is also used in "supra-state" or "non-state" contexts. On the basis of the usage of the broad meaning of the concept of "government" (i.e., all the organs through

which the authority of a state is exercised), the concept of "form of government" is fundamentally identical in meaning to the broad meaning of the concept of "form of state" that we generally use.

In the recent history of our country, bringing up the question of "political system" was intimately bound up with the constitutional movement of bourgeois reformism as well as with the bourgeois revolutionary movement to overthrow the autocratic political system of the Qing Dynasty. Around the time of the 1911 Revolution, people frequently referred to the transformation from "autocracy" to "constitutionalism" as a change in the "political system," and referred to the abolition of the "monarchy" and the setting up of a "republic" as a change in the "state system." When the Qing emperor gave up the throne, it was seen at the time as a great matter of a change in the "state system." At the time, however, "state system" and "political system" actually both indicated the form of organization of a state's political power, and for that reason the terms were frequently used interchangeably. On the day following the Qing emperor's abdication of the throne, in Yuan Shikai's telegraph message to the provisional government in Nanjing the two concepts "state system" and "political system" were used at the same time without any distinction being made. At the time, the indiscriminate use of these two terms did not give rise to any objection at all. On the eve of Yuan Shikai's proclaiming himself emperor, an intense debate was launched over this question of "state system" versus "political system." Yang Du /2799 1653/, one of the sponsors of the "Chou An Hui," in an article entitled "On Saving the Nation Through a Constitutional Monarchy," wrote to the effect that since the Chinese people's level of political awareness was low, a "republic" would absolutely not be capable of "constitutionalism," that only a "monarch" would be capable of it, and that a "republic" that was an "autocracy" was not as good as "constitutionalism" under a "monarch." After the "Chou An Hui" was established, a movement to reform the "state system" was launched on a nation-wide scale. The state council controlled by Yuan Shikai propagandized having "national representatives" created by an "election" form themselves into a "national representatives' council," which would then carry out a "state system vote" to determine whether a "monarchical state system" or a "republican state system" would be adopted. In order to refute Yang Du's "On Saving the Nation Through a Constitutional Monarchy" and expose Yuan Shikai's ambition to proclaim himself emperor, Liang Qichao wrote an article entitled "How Strange It Is, This So-called Question of State System." In this article Liang Qichao clearly brought out the necessity of distinguishing between the concepts of "state system" and "political system." He said: "The question of 'constitutionalism' versus 'non-constitutionalism' is a question of 'political system' whereas the question of 'republic' versus 'non-republic' is a question of 'state system.'" Liang Qichao considered that as long as the "political system" was "constitutional," then whether the "state system" adopted were a "monarchy" or a "republic," either would be acceptable, but if the "political system" were "non-constitutional," then whether the "state system" were a "monarchy" or a "republic," neither would be acceptable.

Since the time of Liang Qichao, the question of distinguishing between "state system" and "political system" has attracted the attention of a good many more people. Some people, in imitation of Liang Qichao's usage, call the "form of state" a "state system," and call the "form of government" a "political system."



For example, according to whether the head of state is a monarch or a president, they distinguish between the "state systems" of "monarchical state system" and "republican state system;" and according to whether a government employs the principle of "division of powers," they divide "political system" into "democratic political system" and "autocratic political system. Under this method of classification, what the question of "state system" versus "political system" actually involves is the question of the form of organization of a state's political power. This method of classification not only causes the concepts of "state system" and "political system" to overlap in connotation, but also obliterates the distinction between states in substance, i.e., with respect to their intrinsic class nature.

Marxism considers that all things possess both form and content. The substance of a state, that is, its "intrinsic state quality," refers to "a state's class nature," and this is determined by what class it is that wields political power. A state's intrinsic nature of necessity manifests itself through a definite form, and appropriate state forms are able the more fully to manifest and preserve the state's intrinsic nature. It is exactly as comrade Mao Zedong said in speaking of the question of "political systems": "The question of so-called 'political systems' refers to the question of the form of the political power structure, and refers to whatever forms are adopted by a specific social class to organize the political power organs used to oppose its enemies and protect itself." Due to the influence of the factors of historical conditions, traditional habit, the balance of class forces, and the international environment, various forms of political power organization may be adopted under the circumstances of the same class's control of political power.

The classification of political systems is the classification of the forms of organization of states' political power. The organization of a state's political power consists of the organs, coordinated in a certain way, for organizing the state's authority. To the extent to which the way in which these organs are set up, produced, organized, and integrated with one another is different, the political systems of the various states are different.

Speaking theoretically, each kind of authority can set up a "main body" to exercise that authority--a so-called "main body of authority," consisting of the individuals, organizations, and groups that exercise a certain authority, or the entire body of citizens that exercise a certain authority. For example, in order to exercise legislative authority, legislative assemblies, or organizations consisting of representatives, can be set up, and these legislative assemblies or representative organizations will then constitute the "main body of authority" for exercising the legislative authority. The legislative authority can also be divided into three or four separate parts, such as the authority to propose laws, the authority to discuss them, the authority to pass them, and the authority to ratify them. In order to separate the exercise of these different authorities, different legislative departments (main bodies of authority) can be set up, so that each of the departments is able to exercise only one kind of authority within the total process of legislation. An organization can be set up that specializes in discussing the drafts of laws, without any authority to pass laws; and one can also set up an organization without any authority to discuss the drafts of laws, and only having the

authority to pass laws--a "dumb parliament." To take another example, in order to exercise the authority of pardon, one can separately set up another main body of authority--an amnesty committee. This committee can be participated in by the head of state, and have the authority to pardon members of government who are being impeached or brought to trial, yet be without any judicial authority in other areas. For the purpose of deciding or changing the sequence of succession to the throne of a monarchical country, a "throne committee" can be set up. Speaking theoretically, a particular kind of authority tends to be exercised by the same kind of authoritative leading body. For example, a legislative assembly intended to be the "main body of authority" for exercising the legislative authority generally also exercises the authority of supervising the government, and even exercises a portion of the executive and judicial authority; the highest court, constituting the "main body of authority" for exercising the judicial authority, may also possess the authority to advise, and propose laws to, the legislative and executive organizations, and the authority to repudiate and repeal unconstitutional laws; the state's executive head may also wield partial, or even total, legislative authority. The authority of the head of state is a composite of many kinds of authority, and in a good many countries it includes the authority to promulgate laws, issue orders, dispatch diplomatic envoys, conclude treaties, be commander-in-chief of the armed forces, appoint and dismiss officials, pardon offenses, and represent the state in matters involving ceremony and protocol.

In actual political life, the various kinds of "main bodies of authority" are not isolated and unconnected; among them are various intricate, restrictive, command, subordinate, and parallel relationships. For this reason, there are very great differences in the degree of concentration and decentralization of state authority. Under a "monarchical state system" the state's legislative authority, executive authority, and judicial authority are finally concentrated in the hands of an individual (king, emperor, czar, sultan, caliph) whose length of reign is unlimited. Under the "parliamentary monarchies" and "parliamentary republics" of capitalist countries, the legislative assembly is the state's highest legislative organ, and the cabinets that serve as the executive organ are not only produced by these legislative assemblies but, moreover, are of necessity responsible to them. In the event that the legislative assembly refuses to pass an important proposal or financial proposal of the cabinet, or passes a vote of no confidence, the cabinet must either resign or must dissolve its lower house and hold a general election. Under the "presidential republics" of capitalist countries, the president is not only the head of state, but also the head of government. The executive organ having the president as its head is isolated from the legislative organ. Unlike the political system of parliamentary republics, the president, in exercising his authority, is not personally responsible for his policies; the legislative assemblies may only propose impeachment when the president or the members of the cabinet are guilty of illegal activities. The legislative assemblies cannot force the president or cabinet members to resign by casting a vote of no confidence due to matters of policy. Under a presidential system, the president also does not have the authority to dissolve a legislative assembly. In socialist states, a legislative organ is not an organ that exercises purely legislative and supervisory authority, but is an organ possessing the highest state authority. The executive authority exercised by the state's executive



organs, the judicial authority exercised by the state's judicial organs, and the procuratorial authority exercised by the state's procuratorial organs are all bestowed by the highest organ of state authority. The highest organ of state authority is generally a national conference of representatives (parliament, people's assembly, or people's congress) that is created by election, and the authority of other state organs cannot exceed or be equal to that of the highest organ of state authority. The highest state administrative organ is the executive organ of the highest organ of state authority, and must be responsible to, and report its work to, the highest organ of state authority. The political systems of socialist countries basically belong to the same type, but all kinds of differences still exist with regard to their concrete forms. The "soviets" of the age of Lenin and Stalin are different from China's "people's congress," and Yugoslavia's "delegations" and Romania's "national legislative assemblies" are also quite different. The office of National Chairman set up by the new constitution recently passed by China, its strengthening of the authority of the standing committee of the people's congress, and its putting into effect a "system of limitation of length of office" for the state's highest leaders all represent changes in the concrete forms into which political power is organized.

The classification of political systems is one aspect of the question of the classification of states, and the classification of states is far more complex than the classification of political systems. For example, on the basis of differences in the form of states' organizational systems, a state may be classified as a "single state," a "composite state," or a "state federation." "Composite states" or "state federations" may also be further classified into "monarchical composite states," "administratively composite states," confederations and unions. On the basis of the varying degrees to which states are independent and self-governing, they may be classified into "sovereign states," "semi-sovereign states," "protectorates," and "colonial countries." On the basis of some particular outstanding characteristic, states may also be classified as "perpetually neutral states," "militarist states," or "theocracies." On the issue of the classification of states, Marxism places particular importance on differences in the nature of states that are brought about by differences in their social and economic bases. Slave states, feudal states, and capitalist states, regardless of how different their political systems are, are all dictatorships of the exploiting class. Different from these states are states founded upon the basis of the public ownership of the means of production, in which political power is wielded by the proletariat and the broad masses of working people, i.e., the socialist states, which are an entirely new form of state. Regarding the question of the classification of states, the classification of the forms of organization of states' political power, i.e., their political systems, is only meaningful when performed under the premise of first distinguishing among the states' natures.

(The author of this article is in charge of the Political Science Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.)

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REN ZHONGYI EMPHASIZES REFORMS TO SOLVE EIGHT PROBLEMS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

/Article: "It Is Necessary to Carry Out Reforms With an Active and Enterprising Spirit: In Conjunction With Guangdong's Actual Situation, Ren Zhongyi /0117 0112 1138/ Proposes to Put Emphasis on the Solving of Eight Problems"/

/Text/ In his report at the 5th Guangdong provincial CPS Congress, Comrade Ren Zhongyi emphatically pointed out that reforms must be carried out. He said: In order to do a good job in the construction of our entire socialist modernization, we must carry out a series of reforms with an active and enterprising spirit. Keeping in line with the actual situation in Guangdong, Comrade Ren Zhongyi was of the opinion that we should pay attention to solving well problems in the following eight aspects:

(1) Streamline our administrative structures and solve the problems of over-staffing in the various organs, their mutual wrangling, the aging of their cadres, and the low efficiency of the staff in their work. Readjusting the leading groups is the central issue in structural reforms. We must go all out and boldly accept comrades who are both virtuous and talented, able and strong, equipped with scientific and cultural knowledge, and daring enough to innovate into the leading groups at various levels, and at the same time arrangements for a contingent of old comrades to leave or retire from their present posts and retreat to the second frontline but also take good care of them. The new leading groups must be staffed according to the requirements of seeing to it that they are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent; we must pay attention to selecting cadres from the ranks of intellectuals with an educational level from the senior middle school and above, especially at the university and college level. In streamlining our administrative structure and readjusting our leading groups in organs under the direct jurisdiction of the province, we must insist on the following requirements: leading members of departments, commissions and offices should generally number three or, at most, four; where special conditions prevail, they still should not number more than five; those serving as chiefs and deputy chiefs should not be more than 60 years old; middle-aged and young cadres under 55 years of age should make up about one-third; those with an educational level from the senior middle school and above should make up the majority or at least no less than half and among them there must be at least one who has a university or college level education. Enlightened persons having

professional knowledge about the various departments should also be included in the staff. These new organs must follow a new system to make sure that everything is taken care of and everybody's duties and responsibilities are clearly delineated.

(2) Broadly promote the responsibility system and eliminate the serious flaw of eating from the same big pot. Not only must we carry out the responsibility system in our agriculture, industrial communications, capital construction, domestic and foreign trade enterprises and they must also actively promote the economic responsibility system. The core of the responsibility system is "contracted quota," no matter how varied in forms, approaches, and degrees it may be administered. In practicing any form of this responsibility system, we must unify responsibility, power and benefit altogether. Not only the economic departments, but other fronts and departments should also establish an effective responsibility system, carry out strict practices of review, reward and punishment, and change such situations in some departments as responsibilities not being clearly delineated, rewards and punishments not being unequivocally meted out, and work efficiency not being high enough.

(3) Delegate power downward under definite guidelines and further solve the problems of having power excessively concentrated and control being exercised too rigidly. Under uniform policies and uniform plans, we must grant autonomy to the various localities, departments, and enterprises necessary for fulfilling their respective duties and responsibilities. Our planning system must be conscientiously reformed; once well reformed, it can create conditions for carrying out reforms elsewhere. Departments of economic administration at various levels should delegate considerable management authority down to the enterprises or companies which function like enterprises. After such responsibility system and contracted quota system are put into effect, in particular, the upper level should control or interfere still less in respect to matters at the lower levels, no matter how big or small. All tedious, unnecessary reviews and inspections should be eliminated.

(4) Insist on putting the state-run economy in the dominant position and at the same time develop various diverse state-run, collective and individual forms of economy, further solve the problem of state-run enterprises becoming monopolistic and their channels of control becoming too narrow, and thereby enliven the economy and all other undertakings. All old irrational systems and old regulations which hinder the development of diverse economic forms should be subjected to reform. There must, in industrial, communications, construction and township and urban public enterprises, not only be those of the state-run type, but collective and individual ones should also be developed. In the case of certain widely dispersed small commercial enterprises, repair services and service industries, they should especially be left for collectives and individuals to run them. Not only economic departments, but even educational, literary and art, and scientific research undertakings should also be allowed to be handled by collectives, and some should also be left to individuals.

(5) Establish links between urban and rural areas and break down local blockades and the separation of urban and rural areas and of various units. Through reforms, we must conscientiously solve the long-standing problem of

having our economic links separated in accordance with administrative divisions and administrative jurisdictions. We must gradually formulate concrete policies and measures to break down barriers and protect competition. In the case of well managed enterprises, it is permissible to have their branch stores, factories, and companies be established across municipal and county boundaries; administrative departments in the various localities shall not stop them. We must have the smooth circulation of goods, circulation of capital, circulation of labor power, circulation of talents, and promote distant cross-regional sales, cross-regional investment, and cross-regional contracting of work projects and exporting of services; no place should be defined as a parochial fortress. Putting into effect the practice of having a municipality exercising control over the county in which it is located is an important reform in our attempt to break down urban and rural separation and give better scope to the role of our key cities. The two districts of Fushan and Shaoguan should carry out this reform ahead of others, and should acquire experience in respect to the building of our leading groups, administrative streamlining, unifying of municipal and county leadership, promoting of urban and rural economic exchange and joint development, etc. Reforms in other districts should also be carried out continually.

(6) Practice separation of government administration from enterprise management and solve the problem of substituting government administration for enterprises management, substituting enterprise management for government administration, and of abusive interference in the economy by administrative means. Government organs and economic units in the nature of enterprises must be separated. Administrative departments must also learn to manage the economy with economic means and economic leverage and use administrative means as sparingly as possible. The practice of separating the commune management from government administration in the countryside is also an important reform in the category of having government administration separated from enterprise management; the province and every region, every county must get a close handle on pilot projects and then, on the basis of them expand to all the areas.

(7) Implement the principle of material benefits and better carry out the three concurrent considerations as well as solve the problem of egalitarianism. The new systems and new measure we carry out during our reforms must give concurrent considerations to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, make sure that the state receives the largest share, the collective the intermediate share, and the individual the smallest share, and provide the masses with tangible material benefits. Only reforms of this kind can have a chance to be successful. The management of wages and rewards should be so handled as to demonstrate the principle of to each according to his work. In terms of the total number of rewards, we should endeavor to exercise control from a definite quota and from the ratio between a reward and a contribution; we must firmly oppose random distribution of rewards on the one hand and refrain from restricting more distribution for more work. The direction for reforming wage distribution is the implementation of wages commensurate with duties and floating wages.

(8) Strengthen our service spirit and solve the problems of bureaucratism and the official-merchant workstyle. Our reforms should encourage various fronts

and various departments to strengthen their service spirit so as to better serve the people. The new systems put into practice after our reforms should constrain and enable our industrial and communications enterprises to serve their user households better, the commercial and service enterprises to serve their customers better, the broadcasting, television, and literary and art units to serve their listeners, audiences, and readers better, and government organs to serve the basic levels better. In a word, reforms at all fronts should endeavor to uproot conditions from the systems under which bureaucratism and the old office workstyle and official-merchant workstyle prevailed.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi emphatically pointed out, once we grasped the above eight aspects, we shall have grasped the main things in our current reforms. He said: reform is a formidable, complex undertaking; we must be firm and decisive and daring to innovate on the one hand and remain prudent and careful, investigate things meticulously, study things fully, and carry it out under guidance and in proper steps in order to make sure of our success in such a reform and never undertake it perfunctorily. Party committees at all levels must respect the spirit of initiative on the part of the masses, pay attention to summing up and promoting new experiences and new things acquired during reforms, and push forward the various tasks and undertakings in our province even faster.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WANG CHAOWEN ELECTED GOVERNOR OF GUIZHOU

OW300241 Beijing XINHUA in English 1234 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] Guiyang, April 29 (XINHUA)--Wang Chaowen, a 52-year-old member of the Miao nationality, has been elected governor of Guizhou Province at the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress, which closed here today.

He is the first governor of the Miao nationality in China.

The Miao nationality totals five million people, ranking fifth among the 55 minority nationalities in the country. It is distributed mainly over the southwest and south China provinces of Guizhou, Yunnan, Sichuan, Hunan, Hubei and Guangdong and the Guangxi autonomous region. Guizhou alone has 2.58 million Miao people, making them the most populous minority nationality in the province.

Wang Chaowen, born into a peasant family in a mountainous area in southeastern Guizhou, studied in a cadre training school after liberation. He has held leading positions in communist youth league, communist party and government organizations at county, prefectural and provincial levels. After 1979, he was elected vice-governor and member of the party Central Committee.

Deputies to the provincial congress spoke highly of his work. In the past five years, he has traveled to all prefectures, cities and counties throughout the province. He spent an average of three months each year investigating conditions in the countryside and worked hard to develop agriculture and improve the peasants' daily life.

Wang Chaowen has written several papers on rural policy and was twice invited to participate in drafting documents on rural work for the party Central Committee.

"I am determined to work alongside the 28 million people in the province to build a new and prosperous Guizhou," Wang said.

CSO: 4000/123



SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY SET UP IN LIAONING

OW270532 Beijing XINHUA in English 1345 GMT 26 Apr 83

[Text] Shenyang, April 26 (XINHUA)--A new university has been set up in Shenyang, capital of Liaoning Province, to train technicians for smaller state-owned and cooperative factories.

The Shenyang University, established earlier this year, has 12 specialities including universal machinery and industrial and civil architectural engineering, a spokesman for the school said today. The city is one of the major machine building centers in China.

The university's 1,020 students will not expect to be assigned jobs by the government after completing their studies, which will last two or three years. Instead, they will find jobs on a competitive basis, at small and medium-sized state-owned and cooperative enterprises, the spokesman said.

Vocational schools of this type have been founded in practically all Chinese cities to supplement regular schools run by the government.

But Shenyang University, set up with local financial resources, is perhaps the first reported to have been established specially to help boost the development of smaller state-owned and cooperative factories.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NORMAL RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES' RESUMED IN XIZANG

OW261247 Beijing XINHUA in English 1116 GMT 26 Apr 83

[Text] Lhasa, April 26 (XINHUA)--Visitors to the Tibetan capital frequently remark on the endless stream of people carrying prayer wheels in their hands and the Buddhist banners hung across Xingfu road leading to the famous Potala Palace.

According to sources from the Tibet Regional People's Congress now in session, normal religious activities have been fully restored after ten years' turmoil.

Representatives of various sects of Buddhism and Islam in the region, the sources said, make up 10.7 percent of deputies to the current regional People's Congress and regional committee members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC).

Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, living Buddha and vice-chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, explained that Tibet now has 1,287 lamas in monasteries, among whom 166 were newly added.

"In recent years, believers have been free to visit monasteries to worship, chant scripture and donate at any time they wish," he said.

The vice-chairman said that many of Tibet's monasteries were damaged during the "Cultural Revolution." But since 1978, 14 monasteries have been repaired with more than 5 million yuan allocated by the state and the regional government. In addition, special funds have been allocated by the country's relics administration to renovate religious structures including the Potala Palace, the Zmaxi Lhunbo Lamasery, Qoikang Temple and Samyai Monastery.

Gungjue Dargyai, member of the CPPCC Regional Committee and lama of the Sera Monastery, said he was satisfied with the repaired monastery.

"Six main halls of the Sera Monastery have been restored to their former splendor with the help of the country. Now buttered lamps in the Buddhist halls burn all day long, and each day two or three hundred Buddhists come to worship. Last year, the monastery received more than 800 tourists from 66 countries," he said.



In recent years, Buddhist education and research have witnessed new progress. Another living Buddha of Zhaxi Lhunbo Lamasery, Namgyai Cewang, said: "My monastery now has 560 lamas. We have selected 55 young lamas to a Buddhist school run by the monastery to study Tibetan language, ancient Tibetan language, history on religion and Buddhist scriptures."

"We also have people to systematize and research the Buddhist classics and records and the Tibetan Buddhist Theological Institute will soon be established," he added.

CSO: 4000/123

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### SICHUAN TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN POPULATION CONTROL

OW241001 Beijing XINHUA in English 0727 GMT 24 Apr 83

[Text] Chengdu, April 24 (XINHUA)--30 people who did outstanding work in family planning were elected deputies to the sixth People's Congress of Sichuan, China's most populous province.

The Congress met here April 19.

With a total population of nearly 100 million, a figure from the country's third national population census in 1982, family planning in the province has great bearing on that of the country as a whole.

Jiang Zheyu, director of the provincial Family Planning Department, said that much progress has been made in the province's family planning work in the last decade. The birth rate of the province dropped from 40.72 per thousand in 1970 to 15.83 per thousand in 1982 and the natural growth rate from 31.21 to 8.96 per thousand. A total of 14.1 million births were avoided. "This has greatly eased the burden on the state for housing, communication, education and employment," the director said.

"However," the director said, "there will be a 10-year birth peak in the province between now and the end of this century."

As an agricultural province, where 80 percent of the population lives in the countryside, the province should emphasize family planning in rural areas, the director said.

On the one hand, the director said, peasants should be informed of the significance of improving the population quality, and on the other hand, they should be mobilized to work out a responsibility system for urging each other in family planning. Women of bearing age should be examined every two months for pregnancy, he said.

The director said that homes for the elderly should be set up in every village to eliminate the feudal idea that only sons can support aged parents. At the same time, preferential treatment should be given to single children in entering nurseries and schools as well as for medical treatment.

Tang Yunshu, director of the hospital for women and children in Chengdu, said that family planning does not mean birth control only. "Family planning encourages treatment for those couples who are incapable of producing children, and it encourages young couples to give birth at the most suitable age."

The gynecologist said that out-patient clinics have been set up in major cities of the country for couples who are incapable of producing children. At one such clinic in Chengdu, in less than a year, more than 30 couples who received treatment there, have produced children, she said.

CSO: 4000/123

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### TAIWANESE GIVEN PREFERENCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

OW251439 Beijing XINHUA in English 1329 GMT 25 Apr 83

[Text] Beijing, April 25 (XINHUA)--Young Chinese of Taiwan origin now have greater chances in higher education, as a result of a motion made at last year's National People's Congress (N.P.C.).

According to Lin Liyun, chairperson of the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots, the motion was proposed by a group of N.P.C. deputies originally from Taiwan. It urged the government to expand opportunities in higher education for young people of Taiwan origin.

Lin, who is also a N.P.C. Standing Committee member, said that the motion, one of 2,102 proposed at the fifth session of the fifth N.P.C., was referred to the Ministry of Education upon approval of the N.P.C. Motions Examination Committee.

In response to the motion, the ministry of education has decided to open classes in different institutions of higher education especially for young people of Taiwan origin.

For example, Beijing Normal University is going to offer a special in-service course. Every year the Central-South Institute for Nationalities plans to enroll 10 students of the Gaoshan nationality, a native minority in Taiwan. Jinan University in Guangzhou has set up a preparatory course for young people of Taiwan origin who fail the college entrance examination. Those in the preparatory course may enter higher education directly after a year's study and pass a certain examination.

In addition, students from Taiwan receive preference in admission among candidates scoring the same grade in the college entrance examination.

At present, there are some 22,000 Taiwanese living on China's mainland, most in Fujian, Guangdong and Zhejiang Provinces and the cities of Shanghai, Tianjin and Dalian.

Some of these people returned to the mainland directly from Taiwan before the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Others returned after 1949 through Hong Kong or foreign countries.

In recent years, the Chinese Government has paid increased attention to the well-being of such Taiwan compatriots. A group has been set up to oversee the status and condition of Taiwan compatriots, families who have relatives now in Taiwan and officials and officers returning from Taiwan. Frame-ups and historical injustices involving Taiwan compatriots have been in the main corrected.

According to statistics from 26 provinces and municipalities, housing conditions for 605 families of Taiwan origin have been improved over the past few years. Some 380 families living below the local average standards now receive subsidies from the government.

Among the Taiwan compatriots on the mainland, there are 13 N.P.C. deputies, 23 members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, two university presidents, 12 directors of research institutes and more than 20 factory directors or general engineers.

CSO: 4000/123

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC STANDARDIZES NAMES OF S. CHINA SEA ISLANDS

OW240812 Beijing XINHUA in English 0712 GMT 24 Apr 83

[Text] Beijing, April 24 (XINHUA)--The Chinese Toponymy Committee was authorized today to publish the standardized names for China's major South China Sea islands.

This move was part of the nationwide efforts to standardize the place names of the country so as to provide accurate data for the socialist modernization program and to facilitate the development of navigation, the committee said.

For this purpose, the committee has carried out a survey of the names of China's South China Sea islands (called "Nanhai Zhudao" in Chinese) and standardized these names according to the relevant regulations of the State Council, it added.

According to an earlier report, China's first nationwide survey of place names, which started in 1980, is expected to be completed in the main in the first half of this year.

The committee published the standardized names in Chinese for 287 major places of the South China Sea islands and their spellings in Chinese phonetic alphabet. Some were also given corresponding names habitually used by local fishermen.

The spellings of the standardized names of these places in Chinese phonetic alphabet are as follow ("qundao" meaning "islands"; "dao", "island"; "jiao", "reef"; "tan", "bank"; "shuidao", "channel"; "shazhou", "sand cay"; "yu", "islet"; "ansha", "shoal"; "lianjiao" or "qunjiao", "reefs"--editor):

NANHAI ZHUDAO

Dongsha Qundao  
Dongsha Jiao  
Dongsha Dao  
Beiwei Tan

Nanwei Tan  
Bei Shuidao  
Nan Shuidao  
Xisha Qundao

Yongle Qundao  
Bei Jiao  
Jinyin Dao  
Lingyang Jiao  
Kuangzai Shazhou  
Ganquan Dao  
Shanhu Dao  
Quanfu Dao  
Yagong Dao  
Yin Yu  
Yinyuzai  
Xianshe Yu  
Shi Yu  
Jinqing Dao  
Chenhang Dao  
Guangjin Dao  
Yuzhuo Jiao  
Huaguang Jiao  
Panshi Yu  
Zhongjian Dao  
Xuande Qundao  
Yongxing Dao  
Shi Dao  
Qilian Yu  
Dongxin Shazhou  
Xixin Shazhou  
Nan Shazhou  
Zhong Shazhou  
Bei Shazhou  
Nan Dao  
Zhong Dao  
Bei Dao  
Zhaoshu Dao

Xi Shazhou  
Yinli Tan  
Dong Dao  
Xidu Tan  
Gaojianshi  
Beibianlang  
Binmei Tan  
Zhanhan Tan  
Langhua Jiao  
Songtao Tan  
Laocumen  
Quanfumen  
Yinyumen  
Shiyumen  
Jinqingmen  
Hongcaomen  
Zhaoshumen  
Ganquanmen  
Zhongsha Qundao  
Ximen Ansha  
Bengu Ansha  
Meibin Ansha  
Luban Ansha  
Zhongbei Ansha  
Biwei Ansha  
Yinji Tan  
Wuyong Ansha  
Jimeng Ansha  
Haijiu Ansha  
Anding Lianjiao  
Meixi Ansha  
Bude Ansha  
Bofu Ansha

Paibo Ansha  
Guodian Ansha  
Paihong Tan  
Taojing Ansha  
Kongpai Ansha  
Huaxia Ansha  
Shitang Lianjiao  
Zhizhang Ansha  
Nanfei Ansha  
Manbu Ansha  
Lexi Ansha  
Pingnan Ansha  
Huangyan Dao (Minzhu Jiao)  
Nanyan  
Beiyan  
Xianfa Ansha  
Yitong Ansha  
Shenhu Ansha  
Zhongnan Ansha  
Nansha Qundao  
Shuangzi Qunjiao  
Gongshi Jiao  
Beizi Dao  
Beiwai Shazhou  
Nanzi Dao  
Nailuo Jiao  
Dongnan Ansha  
Dongbei Ansha  
Beizi Ansha  
Yongdeng Ansha  
Lesi Ansha  
Zhongye Qunjiao  
Tiezhi Jiao

Meijiu Jiao  
Zhongye Dao  
Tiexian Jiao  
Zhubi Jiao  
Daoming Qunjiao  
Shuanghuang Shazhou  
Nanyue Dao  
Yangxin Shazhou  
Kugui Jiao  
Chang Tan  
Mengzi Jiao  
Zhenghe Qunjiao  
Taiping Dao  
Dunqian Shazhou  
Bolan Jiao  
Anda Jiao  
Hongxiu Dao  
Nanxun Jiao  
Xiaoxian Jiao  
Daxian Jiao  
Fulusi Jiao  
Kangle Jiao  
Jiuzhang Qunjiao  
Jinghong Dao  
Nanmen Jiao  
Ximen Jiao  
Dongmen Jiao  
Anle Jiao  
Changxian Jiao  
Zhuquan Jiao  
Niu'e Jiao  
Ranqing Dongjiao  
Ranqing Shazhou



Longxia Jiao  
Lianshen Jiao  
Zhangxi Jiao  
Quyuan Jiao  
Qiong Jiao  
Chigua Jiao  
Guihan Jiao  
Hua Jiao  
Jiyang Jiao  
Fan'ai Ansha  
Fubo Jiao  
Yongshu Jiao  
Xiaoyao Ansha  
Huo'ai Jiao  
Xiyue Dao  
Mahuan Dao  
Feixin Dao  
Heping Ansha  
Huoxing Jiao  
Dayuan Tan  
Wufang Jiao  
Wufangwei  
Wufangnan  
Wufangxi  
Wufangbei  
Wufangtou  
Xunjiang Ansha  
Banlu Jiao  
Nanfang Qiantan  
Dongpo Jiao  
Zong Tan  
Bao Tan  
Donghua Jiao

Bin Jiao  
Antang Tan  
Antang Jiao  
Houteng Jiao  
Gongzhen Jiao  
Liyue Tan  
Xiongnan Jiao  
Yangming Jiao  
Liyue Nanjiao  
Zi Tan  
Elan Ansha  
Hongshai Ansha  
Xianhou Tan  
Zhongxiao Tan  
Yongshi Tan  
Shenxian Ansha  
Haima Tan  
Beiheng Jiao  
Heng Jiao  
Kongming Jiao  
Sanjiao Jiao  
Lusha Jiao  
Meiji Jiao  
Xian'e Jiao  
Xinyi Jiao  
Haikou Jiao  
Banyue Jiao  
Jianzhang Jiao  
Ren'ai Jiao  
Xianbin Jiao  
Zhongshan Jiao  
Lixin Jiao  
Niuchelun Jiao

Pian Jiao  
Pengbo Ansha  
Zhixiang Jiao  
Nanle Ansha  
Xiaowei Ansha  
Duhu Ansha  
Baowei Ansha  
Siling Jiao  
Shuang Jiao  
Shilongyan  
Yixinshi  
Wumie Jiao  
Yunuo Jiao  
Nanhua Jiao  
Liumen Jiao  
Shipanzai  
Bisheng Jiao  
Yuya Ansha  
Erjiao Jiao  
Langkou Jiao  
Xiantou Jiao  
Jinwu Ansha  
Puning Ansha  
Boji Jiao  
Andu Tan  
Polang Jiao  
Guangxing Jiao  
Guangxingzai Jiao  
Xibo Jiao  
Nanhai Jiao  
Bai Jiao  
Danzhushi  
Niaoyudingshi  
Anbo Shazhou

Yindun Ansha  
Yinqing Qunjiao  
Huayang Jiao  
Dong Jiao  
Zhong Jiao  
Xi Jiao  
Nanwei Dao  
Riji Jiao  
Kangtai Tan  
Zhuying Tan  
Aoyuan Ansha  
Suilang Ansha  
Nanwei Tan  
Pengbobao  
Changjun Ansha  
Jindun Ansha  
Aonan Ansha  
Guangya Tan  
Renjun Tan  
Lizhun Tan  
Xiwei Tan  
Wan'an Tan  
Danwan Jiao  
Huanglu Jiao  
Nantong Jiao  
Beikang Ansha  
Mengyi Ansha  
Yijing Jiao  
Haikang Ansha  
Faxian Ansha  
Kangxi Ansha  
Bei'an Jiao  
Nan'an Jiao  
Nanping Jiao

Nankang Ansha

Linbo Ansha

Yi'an Jiao

Qiongtai Jiao

Tanmen Jiao

Haining Jiao

Chengping Jiao

Huanle Ansha

Zengmu Ansha

Zong Shuidao

Tiezhi Shuidao

Nanhua Shuidao

CSO: 4000/123

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

EDUCATIONAL ALLOCATION--Lhasa, April 22 (XINHUA)--More than one and a half times as much money will be used this year than in last year to develop regular education in southwest China's Tibet autonomous region, according to reports from the on-going first session of the fourth regional people's congress here. The regional government has set an allocation of 59.31 million yuan (RMB), 51.2 percent more than in last year, for the purpose. And it decided to allocate additional 11.85 million yuan specially to promote spare-time education of workers and peasants in the region. [Text] [OW232136 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 22 Apr 83]

CSO: 4000/123

COMMENT ON HU YAOBANG'S SPEECH ON MARXISM, INTELLECTUALS

Hong Kong CHENG MING /CONTENDING/ in Chinese No 66, Apr 83 pp 58-60

/Article by Xi Xing /6079 5887/: "Comment on Hu Yaobang's Speech Commemorating the Centenary of Karl Marx's Death"/

/Text/ On the occasion of the centenary of the death of Karl Marx on 13 March, the CPC Central Committee held a special mass rally of commemoration at the Great Hall of the People attended by 10,000 people. At the rally Hu Yaobang gave a speech entitled "The Radiance of the Great Truth of Marxism Lights Our Way Forward." About one-third of the speech dealt with the relationship of Marxism to the revolution and construction carried out by the CPC in China; the other two-thirds dealt with knowledge and the intellectuals; he particularly emphasized the importance of knowledge and of the intellectuals in the construction of the country.

Generally speaking, the speech was not very strong in theoretical respects, while a piece of truly theoretical value was the lengthy article that Zhou Yang published about the same time under the title "Some Exploratory Ideas on Certain Theoretical Questions of Marxism." I don't know whether Hu Yaobang's speech and Zhou Yang's article were actually written by the two themselves or by a collective of expert writers, but the speech and the article themselves provide us with a very interesting example of the differences between the party's executive leadership and the specialized theorists of the party. The theories of the former have throughout the character of policy statements and propaganda, giving unavoidably the impression of being loaded with mere platitudes and stereotypes and lacking concise and comprehensive fresh ideas that would be felt invigorating and set people thinking. The theories of the latter have much more exploratory overtones, regardless of the fact that the final conclusions may be wrong (that is a matter of opinions), and the opinions that are arrived at seem to have been reached through introspection and also show a certain depth and freshness.

Due to the limits of space, my article will not discuss Zhou Yang's article, but will offer a short critical discussion of Hu Yaobang's speech and concentrate on the following two aspects:

The World Crisis of Communism

First, I will discuss the present plight of Marxism in the world and in China.

touching on the condition of Marxism in the world, Hu Yaobang said: "For more than three decades since World War II, the world communist movement has followed a tortuous course of development. ... (It has come up with) a most essential positive factor, i.e. politically and ideologically more and more Marxist parties and organizations have dared to break with blind faith, to emancipate their minds and to think for themselves, thus becoming able independently to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own countries." It is for this reason that "today, the Marxist parties in different countries have a deeper understanding and are richer in experience and their level is clearly higher than before."

In statements of this sort, there is no more the temper of the early sixties when China and Yugoslavia and China and the Soviet Union split fighting over the theoretical leadership in the world communist movement.

As a matter of fact, at present no one can claim dominance in the field of theory and regard himself top authority in the world and be conceited enough to claim mastery of the Marxist truth. A monopoly for the interpretation of Marxism has become completely a thing of the past with the death of the great overlord Stalin. Later, Mao Zedong also thought he could usurp the position that Stalin had occupied in the communist world of his days, making himself a kind of "Lord Huan of Qi," but the result was as shortlived as a flash in the pan and vanished like mist and smoke.

Actually, Marxism was indeed indiscriminately applied by the communist parties of various countries and led to all kinds of insoluble crises in the practice of all communist countries. It occurred in Eastern Europe, in the Soviet Union, and in China as well. The Soviet Union, China and the Eastern European countries abused Yugoslavia for being revisionist, but in the end Romania and Hungary not only emulated Yugoslavia, but went even further than Yugoslavia. China too wanted to learn from Yugoslavia and Hungary, and in doing so the Chinese rural reforms seem to have even surpassed Yugoslavia and Hungary. The Soviet Union also had difficulties with its declining agriculture, and after Brezhnev's death, Andropov is planning to follow the Hungarian example, and, who knows, one day the Soviet Union may even come to China to learn from China's experiences!

#### No Progress But a Regression

The fact that the various communist countries of the world dare to break with blind faith, each struggling to survive, does not prove that there is any vitality left in Marxism, but merely demonstrates nothing else but that all of them under the pressure of circumstances one after the other abandon the doctrines of Marxism, which they had so tenaciously defended in the past, and "change the bowstring and follow a different track." All of their concessions show a common tendency, namely to draw closer to the economic rules of capitalism and not to advance further along the principles of communism. Even though the practice of socialism in the Soviet Union has a history of over 60 years, and Stalin furthermore boasted that the Soviet Union had already entered the stage of communism, the Soviet Union is now also compelled under the pressure of its

economic crisis to seek help in the economic patterns of capitalism. From the standpoint of the peoples in these countries, this retreat must be regarded as more welcome than the dogmatism of the old days. It shows that the rigid doctrines are being discarded and a practical and realistic flexibility is imparted to the policies of the state. However, these countries will not admit that this is a retreat from the principles of communism to a capitalist economy, but will obstinately assert that this is a progressive development of Marxism and a new victory for Marxism, and in this they unavoidably display a touch of the Ah Q spirit.

We also can clearly see that every communist country that is making these concessions and changing course, will first try it out in actual practice and later follow it by trying to find theoretical arguments and interpretations in justification. Up to the present time the contingents of theorists in the various communist countries are still at sixes and sevens in the face of the theoretical confusion brought about by these substantial concessions and none of them has come up with a convincing conclusion. If one were to speak of the present realities as a "Marxism which has become more enriched as compared with the past...which has clearly reached a higher level than ever before," this is very close to sophistry, I am afraid.

One way in which the Chinese communists seek to justify their actions theoretically is the following argument: Marxism is a developing science, it never believed in a thesis of ultimate truth and anything being eternally perfect, everything depends on the realities of one's own country. "Nobody is forced to follow me, and I am not forced to follow anyone else." This is the view recently expressed by Zhou Yang. This is also expressing in theoretical terms what Deng Xiaoping meant with his thesis of the white and the black cat. The same idea is implied in Hu Yaobang's speech, when he said: "Marxism is a developing science...its vitality lies in its constant analyses and study of new situations and problems that arise in the course of practice and in its integration with concrete revolutionary practice at different times and in different countries." If Marxism is nothing more than that, then it is as good as cutting down Marx's grand theory and principle of communism to a mere methodology, and this methodology moreover is not really used to analyse society, but is merely a tool to be used by those in power in the communist party in their specific analysis of the situation.

#### Seeking Knowledge and Freedom to Read

Next I wish to discuss the questions of knowledge and of the intellectuals, questions especially emphasized by Hu Yaobang in his speech.

The intellectuals have had hard times during at least 20 out of the 34 years of the Chinese communist regime. If Hu Yaobang now in his speech commemorating the 100th anniversary of Marx's death specially makes the intellectuals a central topic of his speech, it is of course very significant. The special emphasis and consideration that the present Chinese communist leadership pays to the intellectuals is in the sense of a remorse over past mistakes, because they now deeply realize that in order to accomplish the four modernizations, mere reliance on the original uneducated cadres would be of no help and would



only make a mess of things. Therefore, on the one hand the intellectuals had to be employed and on the other hand the entire cadre contingent had to be remodelled, younger people had to be brought in, the cadres had to become more knowledgeable and acquire special skills so as to meet the requirements of the situation.

In emphasizing the importance of the intellectuals, Hu Yaobang adduced the example of Marx. He said, Marx was a man of great culture and knowledge. "Marx's knowledge was extensive and expert, with a breadth of scope and great attainments as rarely seen throughout the history of the world;" "he mastered all that was best in the culture and knowledge of mankind" and he "was the most outstanding intellectual representing the wisdom and conscience of mankind." These are all platitudes. Making statements like this 100 years after his death cannot enhance the greatness of Marx. Nobody will deny that Marx was a great thinker. The main task today is not to eulogize him, but to examine whether the social conditions which 100 years ago brought about Marx are still extant in our present society to a larger or to a lesser degree.

An extremely important precondition for the creation of Marxist thought by Marx was that he had the freedom to take in all the fruits of the wisdom of his predecessors and his contemporaries. That means he must have had the freedom to read. Although young Marx lived in the times of King Frederic William III of Prussia and of the reactionary holy alliance led by Metternich, he was never deprived of his freedom to read. Now, 100 years later, the communist regime that claims to venerate Marx, can give its people only far less freedom to read than the reactionary Metternich regime. Is that not like a satire of history?!

There was absolutely no freedom to read during the Chinese cultural revolution. Now conditions have somewhat loosened up, and certain Western classics have been republished. Moreover some literature of the Soviet party struggle of the twenties and thirties was also published, but only for "restricted reading." It is often said that Marxism has grown from three sources: German philosophy, England's economics and French utopian socialism. Would it have been possible for Marx to create Marxism if he had been allowed to read only the philosophical works of Feuerbach and Hegel, only the economic works of Adam Smith and Ricardo and only the works of Saint-Simon and Fourier?

#### Ideological Development Requires Environment Conducive to Ideological Activity

Marx was able to fuse these three important European fields of thought, because he was not limited to merely reading the works of these three fields alone, but was able to acquaint himself extensively with all the knowledge in human history and to explore penetratingly all the various theories and trends of thought throughout history. Moreover, he took in and explored all these fields not in static inactivity, but rather plunged himself into the torrent of all kinds of social and ideological currents in the realities of his time, and only after passing through this painful torrent was he finally shining forth with his own talent.

The birth of great ideas therefore requires not only freedom to read (including freedom of the press) as a conducive environment, but also actual conditions of palpitating and surging currents in the society, as this was, for instance, the case during the Spring and Autumn period and during the time of the Warring Kingdoms in China, times of great splendor in the history of Chinese thought.

We may also say, had there not been in the Germany of the twenties and thirties of the 19th century a succession of movements, from the free democratic to the communist movement (such as the movement of student societies at the universities, the German youth movement, the peasant movement in the state of Hesse, the movement of the federation of forsaken Germans, the young Hegelian movement, etc.), there would not be any Marxism. The ideology of Marxism was developed from a number of preceding social and ideological movements.

Evolution of New Ideology Is Like "Seven Stars Being Companion to the Moon"

Here I want to mention something in passing that few people know, namely that Marx's historical materialism was not first evolved by Marx himself, but was inspired and directly taken over from three of his contemporaries; Engels, Hess and Shu-er-ci /phonetic, Schultz?/.

It was first Engels who as early as in his "Outline of a Critique of Political Economy" presented the following viewpoint: The competition in capitalism will aggravate the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists, widen the contrast between rich and poor, impoverish the middle class, accelerate the social crisis, lead to class struggle and thus lead to the outbreak of the proletarian revolution, the extinction of capitalism and to the establishment of a communist system. Marx praised this as a "genial outline." It is this viewpoint that inspired and convinced Marx that the inevitability of the communist revolution can only be deduced from a linkage of class struggle and economics.

Hess wrote a book "Twenty-one Printed Sheets from Switzerland," which contained his three articles "Socialism and Communism," "The One and Only Complete Freedom" and "Philosophy of Action." In these articles he elaborated the following viewpoint: Man's activities determine man's life and also his mode of thinking. This viewpoint is indeed the embryonic form of Marx's later theory of "man's being determines his consciousness." Hess was also the first to set forth the theory of alienation. This theory of alienation, on which a multitude of different opinions are being expressed by the scholars and ideologists of China, is thus something that was taken over from Hess.

In his book "The Production Movement" Shu-er-ci /phonetic/ explained the defects of the capitalist system according to the historical development of production. Starting out from this angle, he actually reaches the level of a materialist conception of history and comes to the following conclusion: the form of the state and of society are determined by their production conditions. Is this not in embryonic form what Marx later elaborated as historical materialism?

The birth of a great idea is of course related to the individual genius, the thinker, who originated the idea, however, this thinker's genius has not come out of a void; there always had to be a number of other men of akin mentality

around him before his own genius could shine forth. There is the common phrase in Chinese of "the seven stars around the moon." The birth of a great idea is also somewhat like a moon that has had seven stars as companions; every great idea has a number of stars around this one "moon." The stars are of course not as bright as the moon, but without them, there would also be no moonlight. The more so in the case of Marxism, where Marx is not the only one in the position of moon since there is also Engels as another bright moon. Marxism has two "moons," just as, for instance, the theory of evolution has its two "moons" (Lamarck and Darwin).

#### Breaking Literary and Ideological Shackles

Let us now return to Hu Yaobang's speech; he said in one instance: "Where does Marxism come from? Fundamentally, it is no doubt the product of contradictions and of the workers' movements in capitalist society; at the same time it is the result of absorbing human knowledge accumulated over several thousand years." "Simple class feeling can make one receptive to some isolated Marxist concepts, but is inadequate for a systematic understanding and good command of Marxism." This is quite true. Not only the elaboration of Marxism required absorbing human culture and knowledge of thousands of years, the understanding and mastery of Marxism too requires absorbing human culture and knowledge of thousands of years.

Hu Yaobang also raised the slogan "knowledge is power," and urged everyone to "value knowledge, embrace it, thirst for it," hoping that "efforts will be exerted to turn knowledge into immense power for building a new world."

This talk is obviously a sharp warning addressed to those among the ranks of the Chinese communists who still show contempt for knowledge and believe "the more learned one becomes, the more reactionary one will be." However, people may also associate these words with the very soil of China where society is presently indeed valuing knowledge, embracing it and yearning for it. If a country stipulates in its constitution that Marxism-Leninism alone is to be venerated and bans all other different schools of thought, if a country adopts "official Marxism" as yardstick for all criticism, and with this yardstick measures at every occasion the class character of knowledge, if a country is daily anxious about "poison" in the spiritual food of its people and carries out frequent purges of that "poison," how can the people of such a country "thirstingly" and freely pursue knowledge, how can they to their full satisfaction absorb the human culture accumulated over the millenia and imbibe the national cultures of their contemporary world?

To have the people value knowledge, embrace it and "thirstingly" pursue it, to widen the cultural field of vision of our people, even to develop Marxism, the first and most important step is to remove all cultural and ideological shackles.

There is no need for the state leadership to exhort its people to get themselves educated and to study ideology, the important thing is to set about it oneself and to abolish all cultural and ideological restrictions. If the state would smash all cultural and ideological shackles, the people's thinking would quite naturally spring to life, and with an enlivened spirit the people would quite naturally and most enthusiastically seek education. The Chinese people have always been a nation that never grew weary of learning.

This principle also has a bearing on the present rural reforms in China. Enthusiasm for production among the peasants cannot be aroused by exhortations of the state leadership. If the production of the peasants is restricted by a system of people's communes, no matter how you agitate to "engage in revolution and promote production," you will never be able to promote anything. The reason is that the state's interferences in the affairs of the peasants are too many and too extensive. All interferences turn into rules and regulations that fetter all rural production. Only after the peasants spontaneously instituted a system of farm quotas for each household, the government restrictions were for the most part lifted and rural production showed a scene of flourishing prosperity.

If the Chinese government will abandon its restrictions in the cultural and ideological areas, if it will promise freedom of scientific research and freedom of discussion, freedom for every kind of ideological development, if it will promise to allow scholarly societies and ideological organizations to exist openly and engage in activities, the way young Marx saw them in Germany and participated in them, then the Chinese people will have absolutely no need for exhortations by their leaders and will by themselves exert themselves in education and in acquiring knowledge, and the field of ideology will inevitably experience an unprecedented revival.

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